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Roosevelt Wins—The Workers Lose

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Popular Front and French Fascism

Conscription—Ancient and Modern

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Popular Front and French Fascism

(*Concluded from October Issue*)

The Popular Front government appropriated billions of francs for the strengthening of the military arm of the capitalist state, whose officers were out and out supporters of Fascism. Leon Blum boasted of French "National Unity" and of the "discipline" and "self-control" of the workers organizations, which the Popular Front had achieved. On those occasions when the workers, ground down by an ever-deepening economic crisis, jumped the traces by going out on strike, the Popular Front struck back vigorously, calling the army out to break the strikes and drive the discontented workers back to work. These strikebreaking activities were justified by Blum on the ground that "National Unity" and "National Defense" demanded that the workers make sacrifices—an argument which the American workers are hearing more and more each day.

In April, 1938, having served its purpose of regimenting the French workers and laying the groundwork for the introduction of Fascism, the Popular Front regime passed on into the ashcan of history. In the short space of two years, this phenomenon, which had begun as an attempt to fight Fascism and to preserve democracy, had launched France well on the road to totalitarianism. The Daladier and Reynaud cabinets which succeeded the Popular Front merely contined along the same path until, with the capitulation to Hitler, the Petain-Laval government openly proclaimed the Fascism which had actually been in control for almost two years.

FRENCH TRAGIC PATTERN RETRACED HERE

Today, before our very eyes, the tragic pattern of the French Popular Front is being retraced here in the United States.

The Roosevelt New Deal, which has won the wholehearted support of the American labor movement, is, in substance, the American equivalent of the French Popular Front. Like its French counterpart, the New Deal began as a movement to challenge the rule of the "economic royalists," except that in America there were only "60 Families" to defeat as compared to France's 200. In reality, however, the primary concern of the New Deal was to revive a capitalism which had collapsed in 1932, just as French capitalism collapsed two years later.

Just as in France, the American labor leaders have joined the swelling chorus of shouters for "National Unity" and "National Defense" and are busily engaged in browbeating the workers into sacrificing their hard-won standards and submitting to the deprivation of their civil rights, all in the name of "safeguarding democracy."

LEADERS DOPE LABOR

Here in the United States, Sidney Hillman, a capitalist-appointed "representative" of labor on the National Defense Advisory Commission, is playing the identical role that Jouhaux, leader of the C. G. T., played in France in accomplishing the task of spreading "discipline" and "self-control" in the ranks of the workers' organizations.

In a speech before the U. A. W. convention late in July, Hillman boasted that "Labor is taking an active part and playing a vital role in the program of national defense." "No worker," he continued, "can be loyal to his union if he is disloyal to our country. No man can say he is for labor if he is not ready to defend democracy (read 'capitalism") to the utmost." According to press reports, the delegates jumped to their feet at this point and interrupted the speech with prolonged cheers. Unhappy men! As well may they have applauded their own executioners!

This was the same kind of phrases and slogans which the patriotic labor leaders in France used to whip up the support of the French "Democracy" which soon turned into Fascism. The march toward Fascism has already gone far in this country, thanks to the treachery of the labor lieutenants of capitalism.

In America, we of the working class should take the lessons of the enslavement of the French workers to heart.

Firstly, we must understand that in the present stage of capitalist decay and deterioration there is no possible way to prevent the growth of Fascism and its ultimate

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Editorials . . .

THE WORKERS LOSE

The 1940 presidential campaign, one of the bitterest and dirtiest in the nation's history, is ended with a smashing third-term victory for Franklin D. Roosevelt in defiance of a political tradition established as long as the United States.

To a stranger from Mars, the campaign just ended might well have appeared as a clear-cut contest between contending class interests: top-capitalism on the one hand, represented by the "barefoot boy of Wall Street," Wendell Willkie, and the submerged one-third of a nation, "ill-fed, ill-clothed and ill-housed," championed by Roosevelt, on the other.

Arrayed against Roosevelt were the virtually united forces of Wall Street and Park Avenue (with but a few conspicuous exceptions) who conducted a virulent campaign of vituperation, denouncing him as a "traitor to his class" and an enemy of the "American way of life," meaning the rule of monopoly capitalism and its far-flung imperialist interests. The main support of the President consisted of the masses of labor who stood by him with unquestioning loyalty, hailing him as the champion who was protecting their interests against the onslaughts of Wall Street and its retainers.

But this illusion of class warfare was merely a superficial appearance, reflected through the "crazy" mirror of the top-capitalist campaign to rid themselves of Roosevelt for his supposed enmity to their wishes, and had no basis in reality.

The truth of the matter is that Roosevelt, far from being an enemy of the capitalist system was and is the surest and most devoted defender that American Monopoly Capitalism has. Not only has the President repeatedly reiterated his faith in the necessity of private enterprise but, more important, he has proven his loyalty to the ruling class in action by his energetic measures to combat the threat to American Imperialist interests from its Nazi competitors. His foreign as well as his domestic "defense" policies have been aimed to prepare the nation to strike a heavy blow for world domination.

Far from being a "traitor to his class" as was charged by his Wall Street opponents, Roosevelt has played the role of savior of Capitalism. This has been acknowledged many times by those members of the ruling class who do not permit their personal hatreds to blind them to facts. They readily concede that it was the New Deal program which saved their system in its darkest hour.

The paradox of top-capitalism attempting to behead a loyal and devoted supporter of its regime is readily explained by taking into account its Bourbon blindness to its own "enlightened" class interests. Roosevelt took office in 1933 at a time when the fortunes of American capitalism were at their lowest ebb. The Hoover regime had brought the capitalist order to the brink of catastrophe and had thoroughly disillusioned the masses with the capitalist leadership of the nation.

Unless the faith and confidence of the masses could be restored the regime of capitalism was seriously endangered. The task fell upon President Roosevelt and he met the occasion with flying colors. His New Deal program of social legislation and his brilliant political maneuvers revived the lagging faith of the masses in the capitalist leadership of the nation. In the process a certain overtone of demagogic outcries against the forces of top-capitalism which had led the country into the mire of the depression was necessary. Top capitalism, held up as the butt of all of the New Deal's criticisms, failed to note that Roosevelt's tactics had won over the masses and saved their power and privileges. They turned against him, swearing eternal vengeance. Roosevelt, on his part, realizing that his main strength lay with the masses, was not above capitalizing on their hatred of top-capitalism and casting himself in the role of a new Messiah.

Here in short we have the background that gave rise to the superficial appearance of the campaign as a battle between conflicting class interests.

Now that the smoke of battle has cleared away and Roosevelt is assured of a new lease of power, the workers will learn in short order that the campaign just closed was not a battle to protect their interests, but a victory for the forces of capitalist reaction.

The first fruit of the Roosevelt victory was to remove the brakes from the campaign to plunge this country openly into the war. The President lost no time in announcing an increase of aid to Great Britain. Hereafter Great Britain will receive 50% of all American military production and MORE if it becomes necessary. To those who console themselves with the reflection that, after all, this still constitutes aid "short of war" and that the President has solemnly promised to keep the country out of war and maintain "peace," we have only to refer to the recent pronouncement by Prime Minister Churchill who stated that Great Britain does not want or need American troops in Europe, that all that the British want from America is war materials. In view of this fact the President could with good grace promise to keep the country at "peace." But should the fortunes of war change, making advisable the dispatch of American troops to Europe to aid Britain, only the most naive can believe that "peace" will be preserved and the country kept out of war.

With the hurdle of the election safely overcome the Roosevelt Administration will resume its systematic campaign of suppressing civil liberties in preparation for the coming war. The phony anti-trust prosecutions against labor (shelved for the duration of the campaign) and the attempt to place the labor movement under government regulation will be resumed under full steam.

Dark as is the future that the latest capitalist victory forebodes for the working class, the late campaign was not without its hopeful and positive aspects. The top-capitalist class, through Wendell Willkie, made a desperate attempt to woo and befuddle labor with enticing promises of an economic paradise under a Republican administration. This attempt was decisively repulsed, despite the last minute effort of John L. Lewis to act as a bellwether for the candidate of Weir, Girdler, Ford and Wall Street. The workers instinctively sensed that Willkie was the candidate of the class enemy and turned thumbs down upon him.

In choosing Roosevelt, however, the workers demonstrated anew their bondage to capitalist illusions which have ever prevented them from striking an effective blow in their own behalf. Roosevelt, no less than Willkie, is the servant of monopoly capitalism, although he possesses enough political astuteness to appear outwardly as its opponent.

Unless the workers break definitely, once and for all, with their capitalist illusions, look to their own class strength, and begin organizing their independent class organs for the task of emancipation they are irrevocably doomed to the chains of fascist enslavement. For that is the path along which American Capitalism, with Roosevelt at its head, is marching!

America—"Love It or Leave It"

The recent convention of the American Legion at Boston launched a new "Sixth Column" movement to combat "subversive" elements under the slogan of "Love America—or Leave it."

In spirit this sentiment is unassailable. In the words of the bard,

"Breathes there the man with soul so dead
Who never to himself has said,
This is my own—my native land?"

Deeply as we cherish this sentiment, however, it nevertheless raises the question: Which America are we to love? For, in truth, there are two Americas.

First there is the America of the minority—the America owned by Wall Street and the Economic Royalists, the America whose government and whose institutions such as the churches, the schools, the press and the radio exist only to serve the ruling capitalist class.

That is the America that the American Legion seeks to defend.

That America, although it represents only a tiny fraction of the American people, nevertheless dominates the economic and social life of the country, reducing a population of over one hundred million to abject economic bondage.

The recently released preliminary report of the Temporary National Economic Committee, popularly known as the Monopoly Committee, gives official confirmation to what has long been recognized by students of capitalist economy. The Committee's report reveals that the bulk of the productive facilities of the United States—in manufacturing, mining, electric and gas utilities, transportation and communication —are concentrated in 200 gigantic non-financial corporations which are dominated and controlled by a small band of some 13 multi-millionaire family groups.

These economic royalists have holdings worth $2,700,000,000, representing 8% of the stock in these 200 corporations. According to the report, 10,000 persons (.008% of the population) own ¼ of all the corporate stock in the country, while 75,000 persons (.06% of the population) own one-half of the stock held by individuals.

"TWO-THIRDS OF A NATION"

Here we see a concentration and centralization of wealth which in times gone by would have been deemed impossible by the vast majority. This is but one side of the medal of the America of Monopoly Capitalism. The other side represents the economic conditions under which the great masses of the nation outside of the charmed circle of the Economic Royalists exist. Once more we turn to official government sources for enlightenment.

The National Resources Committee appointed by President Roosevelt last year, reported that in 1935-36 more than one million American families had a yearly income below $250. Over 17% of American family units had incomes of less than $500 and over 25% were earning less than $750. Almost half the population came under the bracket of less than $1000 per family annually. Finally, two-thirds of the nation's families receive an income of less than $1500, the amount which has been declared by the United States Department of Labor to be the minimum required for an adequate standard of life for an average family group of 4 persons.

In a supplementary report of "Consumer Expenditures in the United States," the National Resources Planning Board finds that in the years under review the poorer two-thirds of the people did not earn or receive enough income to provide the barest necessities for existence, and were compelled to mortgage their future earnings in order to provide for their daily bread. According to the report, the consumption expenditures of the lowest third of the population exceeded their income by 17%. Furthermore, a great proportion of the families and individuals in the so-called "middle classes" showed deficits which were met by expenditures out of savings of former years, loans from relatives and friends, instalment buying and other forms of borrowing.

Thus we see that the America of Monopoly Capitalism presents a shocking contrast of social division. We have an insignificant minority of social parasites monopolizing the life-giving productive resources and machinery of the land, appropriating to themselves the lion's share of the wealth that labor alone creates. Then there is the great mass of the nation, propertiless, and compelled to sell its brain and brawn to live—"ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed." At the same time millions of workers are denied even the cold comfort of wage slavery These social outcasts are compelled to subsist on the bitter bread of government alms.

Is this America that we are asked to Love or Leave. We most emphatically decline to take either course!

THE REAL AMERICA

Our loyalty and devotion belong not to this America of the Economic Royalists, the .06% of the population, but rather to that other America, the living pulsating America of over 120 millions of people striving for peace and security against the onslaughts of their masters. This second America is the real America. Our brand of loyalty is the kind Mark Twain wrote about.

"You see," said Mark, "my kind of loyalty was loyalty to one's country, not to its institutions and office-holders. The country is the real thing; it is the thing to watch over and be loyal to. Institutions are extraneous; they are its mere clothing, and clothing can wear out and become ragged and cease to be com-

fortable, cease to protect the body from winter, disease and death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags, to die for rags, that is a loyalty of unreason, it is purely animal, it belongs to monarchy, was invented by monarchy. Let monarchy keep it."

Yet that is exactly what the American Legion and the other servants and apologists for monopoly capitalism are asking the American people to do—TO DIE FOR RAGS

To protect the real America, the America of the vast majority, the Socialist Union Party is prepared to support every sacrifice that may be required. But it is not *foreign* dictatorship that is the greatest threat to our political freedom. Our main enemy is to be found within our gates—in the ranks of the capitalist class and its political hirelings. No victory over foreign dictatorship can serve to break the economic stranglehold that the economic royalists hold over our people or to release the great masses of workers from the bondage of wage slavery.

THE TASK OF REAL PATRIOTISM

The task of real patriotism in the present hour calls for unremitting warfare against all the forces of the ruling class, which can only perpetuate its existence by dragging the country into the imperialist carnage which is devastating Europe and slowly sucking in the rest of the world. The working class must carry on an unceasing struggle against the efforts of reactionary capitalism which are rapidly converting the country into a totalitarian pattern under cover of "National Defense" and similar slogans.

In its insatiable greed for profit, in its determination to retain its class rule and its power to exploit the masses, international imperialist capitalism has brought humanity and civilization to the very brink of destruction. Only the abolition of capitalism and its replacement by democratic Socialism can save the world from an epoch of barbarism and social chaos.

CAPITALISM MUST GO

Nothing else, no half-way measures will serve. Any attempts to reform the rotten and disintegrating capitalist structure, whether arising from the camp of capitalism or that of labor itself, can only serve the interests of the reaction by ideologically disarming the workers and filling them with illusions. Reform is the handmaiden of reaction!

Only the revolutionary political and economic organization of the working class can enable it to carry out its historic mission of social emancipation. The Socialist Union Party calls on all class conscious workers to join its ranks and carry on the task of educating and organizing the working class for the establishment of the real America!

Conscription—Ancient and Modern

Millions of workers are now faced with the dismal prospect of being conscripted. This will be a new and unique experience to those who draw the unlucky numbers in the great American draft sweepstakes. But the infliction of conscription is nothing new. The exploited class in society has suffered from it since the dawn of civilization. In fact, it is one of the pillars upon which civilization stands.

The earliest form of civilization was composed of states which rested upon the bowed shoulders of conscript labor. The owners of private property had discovered that if men could be induced to labor they could produce wealth over and above that necessary to maintain them. The principle of exploitation of human beings was discovered. However, no one would voluntarily enslave himself, and produce wealth for the propertied class that dominated the ancient civilized states: *i. e.* Egypt, Greece and Rome. The property owners learned that they must conscript labor if they were to wax rich and powerful. Thus they organized war-like expeditions to secure conscripted labor. They enslaved men and women, sent them to work in mines and fields, and upon the oppressed backs of millions of conscriptees rested the glory that was Greece and the grandeur which was Rome. In these "glorious" empires the masters were opulent and arrogant—the conscripted masses under them sweated, groaned and bled—they had to

comply with conscription or die. Often their lot became so repugnant that they chose the latter course, and died in the many slave revolts which from time to time broke out and rose to challenge the conscriptive powers of the ruling class.

Born with civilization, conscription remains one of its integral parts. Though its earliest form, chattel slavery, is no longer paramount, conscription must exist in one form or another as long as society is divided into classes of parasites and exploited workers. Even the most obvious form of conscription, chattel slavery, was with us not so long ago—centuries after the decline of Rome, the last of the classical slave-owning societies.

MODERN CAPITALIST CONSCRIPTION

The capitalist democracies boast that, unlike Fascist countries, labor is not conscripted but is free. They denounce chattel slavery and conscription of labor in strong terms, in principle. They insist that, with the exception of critical periods such as the present, the working population is free, and toiling and spinning is a matter of voluntary choice. In a *formal* sense, this is true. The workers are not conscripted, they enlist into the works of industry. They do not want to die—and they must have food, clothing and shelter to stay alive.

Unfortunately for the "free" workers, the means of producing life's necessities are controlled by the capitalist class—the means of production are the private property of this class. The workers must make contact with these means of production or perish. Thus they are forced to volunteer to be exploited—to sell their labor power—to enlist in the ranks of capitalist production. Nominally free, actually their plight is as bad as the position of the conscripted chattel slaves. For, like these slaves, by their toil they must produce not only enough for their own keep but a surplus for their masters, which serves to keep their masters in idle luxury and allows them only a poverty-stricken and precarious existence. This is the situation confronting the workers in the so-called normal periods.

EXCEPTIONAL TIMES

When the capitalist class, due to internal economic differences reaches a critical point in the competitive struggle wherein they are forced to declare war upon their imperialist rivals, they then proclaim that privileges enjoyed by the workers must temporarily be relinquished. The capitalists do not work for their wealth, neither will they fight to defend it from their competitors. But the workers, anxious to enlist in industry, are reluctant to enlist into the armed forces used by their masters to fight their business rivals throughout the world.

Though the workers are victims of capitalist propaganda and suffer from patriotic delusions, instinctively they seem to realize there is something fishy about their masters' wars. They are neither eager to kill their fellow workers of other lands, nor enthused about risking life and limb for the greater glories of rents, profits and interest. Only a small percentage are backward enough to voluntarily enter the bloody frays created by capitalist imperialistic rivalries. Thus conscription becomes the order of the day.

Workers are forced to obey the wishes of their exploiters, are unwillingly inducted into the armed forces and made to conform to the needs of the military machine controlled by the capitalist class. This open conscription is not confined to the armed forces alone. The entire economy of the nation is geared to conform to military needs and dictates and the workers are not only conscripted into armies and navies but are regimented into industry. They are told when and where and under what conditions they must work. It is the ancient oppression of conscription revived again and openly revealed in all its atrocious and dishonorable aspects. If the workers refuse to comply with this order of conscription, they will be given "democratic" punishment — sent to jail — and their wives and children will have to get along without them for many years.

Conscription is an ancient curse from which the exploited have suffered for thousands of years. But the time is not too distant when this social evil will be eradicated forever. When the workers are aware that they suffer from conscription at all times—they will abolish the class that conscript them. They will eliminate private property and conscript the *wealth* of the world in the interest of the toilers who produce it.

The Socialist movement is dedicated to this task. It urges all workers to extend their efforts and to speed the day when instead of conscripted laborers and parasitic owners, society will be composed of a free and happy

people who cooperatively produce and enjoy the fruitful products of their toil.

—MORRIS PRIZANT.

[LABOR POWER is very glad to open its columns to this contribution from a non-member of the S.U.P. His views on the question of conscription coincide with our own to a great extent. Because of lack of space we were obliged to omit an interesting section of Comrade Prizant's article dealing with the history of Spanish conscription in South America.

One additional and essential point should be appended to the writer's conclusions, in our opinion. Whereas conscription in ancient and feudal days was made historically necessary by society's need to raise its level of productivity, that justification no longer exists today, when modern science and the development of industry have made it possible to produce an abundance. Conscription today, whether in its abridged military form as in the United States or in its totalitarian form as in Fascist Europe, can only serve the interests of the rival imperialist ruling classes who are fighting to preserve or extend their power.—Editor, LABOR POWER.]

Socialism or Pacifism?

The question has been raised by a number of sincere and well-meaning workers: Why does the Socialist Union Party and its official organ, LABOR POWER, oppose the candidacy of Norman Thomas, presidential standard-bearer of the Socialist Party in the present campaign? Why, they ask, do we adopt an attitude of political hostility to the Socialist Party, branding it as an anti-working class organization?

We propose to answer these questions simply and briefly here.

The workers who wish us to give our support to Thomas remind us that he has conducted a vigorous campaign against American intervention in the European war; that he has strenuously opposed conscription and the extension of militarism generally; and that the Socialist Party has likewise presented, according to our critics, a straightforward Socialist position on the question of war.

In reply, we must first point out that opposition to war is by no means exclusively a Socialist tenet. The Senate Isolationist Bloc, consisting of out-and-out bourgeois spokesmen, has consistently opposed American intervention in the war also. Undoubtedly their efforts have exercised a strong influence in keeping the United States nominally at peace up to this time. But these gentlemen are far from being Socialists. When examined by the criterion of revolutionary Socialism, Norman Thomas's opposition to war is no more Socialist in character than the opposition of the Senate isolationists.

Socialist opposition to war has nothing in common with bourgeois pacifism. In the first place, Socialists by no means oppose all wars —the revolutionary struggle of the workers against their capitalist exploiters, or the fight for liberation of a colonial country from its imperalist oppressors are just wars deserving of the support of the working class of the whole world. On the other hand, we condemn wars such as the present struggle between the imperialist bandits of the rival capitalist nations, which are waged for the sole purpose of dividing or redividing the world's markets and sources of raw materials. Our opposition to such imperialist wars flows directly from and is part and parcel of the class struggle of the working class against capitalism itself.

NO "DEFENSIVE" WARS POSSIBLE

The Socialist movement is unalterably opposed to all imperialist wars regardless of the superficial forms they may temporarily assume, or of the slogans under which they are waged. There is no such thing as a "defensive" war under modern conditions—"defensive" war means simply that Bandit A has been caught off guard by the assault of Bandit B and must defend himself on his home territory.

In the present war American capitalism has definitely cast its lot with British imperialism. So far the scene of the conflict has been confined to Europe, Asia and Africa. But if on the morrow the situation should change, and the war should be carried over to the Western Hemisphere, its character would not be altered

in the slightest. It would continue to be an imperialist war, even though American imperialism would then find itself on the defensive.

CLASS COLLABORATION

Notwithstanding this incontrovertible truth, Norman Thomas has done American imperialism an inestimable service, wittingly or unwittingly, by raising the smokescreen of "defensive" war and thus blurring its real character. At the Anti-War Emergency Mobilization, held in Washington, D. C., on June 7th, under the auspices of a number of peace groups, Norman Thomas, as National Chairman of the Socialist Party, proposed the following program:

1. "Assurance to the whole world that we will undertake no military adventure outside of our own territories, *unless perhaps in conjunction with our neighbors in this hemisphere who might be attacked* . . .

2. "Immediate negotiations with our Southern neighbors looking to common action in democratic fashion to *protect our common interests*. . . . Not just the United States but all the Americas should state it as a fixed policy that in the interests of peace and freedom of the people of America, we shall oppose any transfer of colonies in this hemisphere from one European country to another, and any attempt by any European power to establish a naval base in the Caribbean.

3. "The most able possible commission representing Congress, the Army and Navy, and intelligent civilian opinion should be constituted to determine the actual state of our defense, and to recommend what we need to make it efficient. Before we spend another dollar, we should stop spending money on old Indian forts and should co-ordinate our services." (Our Emphasis.)

DEFENDING CAPITALISM'S INTERESTS

Who will dare to deny that this program of Thomas's breaks with every vestige of revolutionary Socialism and the fundamentals of the class struggle? Here we have an open and unabashed invitation for class collaboration to carry on the imperialist war! Thomas's much publicized opposition to war is well known. But his stand in favor of "defending" capitalism's interests in the Western Hemisphere lands him smack into the camp of his avowed enemies, side by side with the Willkies and the Roosevelts whom he purports to oppose on the question of war!

The Roosevelt Administration has not been slow to avail itself of the co-operation of its new colleagues in "defense." Already Daniel W. Hoan, ex-mayor of Milwaukee and long prominent in the councils of the Socialist Party, has been given a post under the National Defense Advisory Commission. Presumably this is in accord with the position of the Socialist Party, for he still continues to be a member, with the presumable blessings of Norman Thomas, who has so far failed to repudiate the action. Mr. Hoan's move was perfectly consistent with the program presented by Norman Thomas at Washington; he has merely carried out the position of the Socialist Party spokesman to its logical conclusion—defend imperialism in the Western Hemisphere! How soon will it be before Thomas joins Hoan?

THE "LESSER EVIL" FRAUD

Further evidence that the opposition to war of the Socialist Party and its standard-bearer proceeds purely from the basis of bourgeois pacifism and has nothing in common with revolutionary Socialism is to be found in their stand that a victory of British imperialism is a "lesser evil" than a Hitler victory. At the same time, in contradiction to this stand, Thomas and the Socialist Party oppose American participation in the war. That they choose to close their eyes to the inevitable consequences of their position does not in the least alter the fact that their stand fits in perfectly with the plans of the warmongers to plunge the country into the conflict at the earliest possible moment.

Obviously, if British imperialism is a lesser evil than German fascism, there is no reason why the working class should refuse to support the former against the latter, even unto war. A member of the Socialist Party would be perfectly consistent, as was Alfred Baker Lewis in Massachusetts, in calling for all possible aid to Britain—even up to war, if necessary for a British victory.

WORKERS LOSE WHOEVER WINS

The real truth is, as we have constantly reiterated in our press, that the working class cannot base its policies or its attitude on any distinctions between the forms under which the rival imperialists carry on their exploitation. The exigencies of the raging holocaust in

Europe will soon wipe out any existing differences between them. Before the end of this war there will be no perceptible difference between the 'democracy" of Great Britain and the totalitarianism it condemns.

A victory for either side will spell the defeat and fascist enslavement of the working class. Capitalism, wracked by its unsolvable contradictions, can no longer permit the workers the luxury of democratic rights. That is why the workers, on their part, cannot permit themselves the luxury of forgetting the class struggle to become the catspaws of their exploiters in this war. For when they wake up it will be too late—their independent organizations and their civil liberties will be gone!

REFORMIST CHARACTER OF S. P.

The Socialist Party never was, and is not today a party in the interests of the working class, expounding the principles of revolutionary Socialism. Throughout its entire history it has always been the counterpart of the European Social Democracy which betrayed the workers again and again.

Like its sister parties, the American Socialist Party has always subscribed to and practised the precepts of reformism, the antithesis of revolutionary Socialism. In contradiction to the teachings of Marxism and the lessons of history, reformism maintains that Socialism can be introduced as the result of a gradual process of peacefully transforming capitalist society without the necessity of the revolutionary capture of power.

NEW DEAL "STEALS" S. P. THUNDER

The bankruptcy of the program of gradualism is well illustrated by the constant plaint voiced by Thomas and other spokesmen for the Socialist Party that the New Deal has "stolen" the social legislation which the S. P. had been the first to propose. It is quite true that the Roosevelt program consisted largely of second-hand copies of the Socialist Party's Immediate Demands. But what sort of Socialism is it which can be stolen by capitalist political parties and turned to the advantage of the ruling class? President Roosevelt's supporters have often credited him with having saved the capitalist system by his adoption of the New Deal demands for his program. Every sincere member of the Socialist Party should ask himself: How was it possible for capitalism to save its skin by the adoption of a "Socialist" program? A little thought will give the correct answer: the program of so-called Socialist" demands was and remains nothing more than a program of the liberal bourgeoisie who seek to soften capitalism's contradictions and bolster up its tottering structure.

The affinity of the Socialist Party for the European Social Democracies lies deeper than its agreement on reformism or its adherence to the traitorous Second International. The S. P. supported without question the mighty German Social Democracy which capitulated to Hitler without a struggle and the French Socialist Party of Blum, which betrayed the French sit-in strikes in 1936 and then proceeded to strangle the Spanish republic with "non-intervention" while Hitler and Mussolini were sending men and arms to the aid of the butcher Franco. When the French S. P. announced its support of the imperialist war, the Socialist Party here had not a word of criticism.

In the face of the debacle of the European working class which had followed the ruinous policies of Social Democracy, the Socialist Party and its candidate still continue to advocate the identical program of reformism and class collaboration here. Apparently they believe America will be different, that the policies which led to Fascist enslavement of the workers in Europe will, by some magical alchemy, lead to the happy land of Socialist freedom here.

AN APPEAL TO REASON

We of the Socialist Union Party have no quarrel with the rank and file of the Socialist Party and its youth affiliate, the Young People's Socialist League. We know that these workers are earnestly devoted to the cause of proletarian emancipation and that they will never allow themselves to be used consciously as tools for the defense of American imperialism. Unfortunately, however, sincerity is not enough. It is necessary that correct policies be followed if the American working class is to be saved from the bitter fate that has overcome the European working class.

We of the Socialist Union Party believe we have such a correct program, suited to the needs of the hour. Our party predicates itself on a recognition of the dangerous fallacies inherent in two divergent tendencies of the labor movement—opportunism and sectarianism. Just as strongly as we attack the Socialist

Party for its bankrupt policy of reformism, we repudiate the blind sectarianism of the Socialist Labor Party.

The sectarian is unable to see the vital connection between the daily manifestations of the class struggle and the final struggle for the emancipation of the working class. Instead of taking his place besides the workers in their day-to-day resistance to capitalist exploitation he withdraws to splendid ivory tower isolation, waiting for the workers to come to him for the sacred scroll of proletarian emancipation. The Socialist Union Party, on the contrary, bases its work on a fundamental policy of carrying its program of revolutionary socialism into the arena of the class struggle.

Our job as class conscious workers is to participate militantly in day-to-day struggles of the working class against capitalist exploitation, linking up these skirmishes with the broader struggle for working class emancipation. The Socialist Union Party gives its wholehearted support to the existing economic organizations of labor despite their capitalist limitations, but at the same time it endeavors to raise the level of these organizations both structurally and ideologically, to the end that they may assume their rightful position as organs of proletarian emancipation.

The Socialist Union Party offers the militant class conscious worker a program of living, dynamic Marxism which alone can light up the path of proletarian emancipation.

Capitalism has long since been rotten-ripe for overthrow. This can only be accomplished by the action of a united working class, organized politically and industrially for that purpose. This, in turn, necessitates a constant barrage of propaganda for a clean-cut, uncompromising revolutionary program and a definite break with reformism and opportunism as the road to certain defeat.

Now, more than ever before, is it necessary for class conscious workers, alive to the need of the hour, to break with old preconceived prejudices and misconceptions and to seek earnestly for the correct road to proletarian emancipation.

The Socialist Union Party calls upon all sincere class conscious workers in the Socialist Party and the Young People's Socialist League to study its literature and program carefully, and to join its ranks to help build a Socialist world, free of wars, misery and starvation!

For further information, address:

SOCIALIST UNION PARTY
140 Fourth Avenue
Brooklyn, New York

A PATRIOT'S REWARD

A Romance—

William Barker, The Young Patriot

By ARTEMUS WARD

I

"No, William Barker, you cannot have my daughter's hand in marriage until you are her equal in wealth and social position."

The speaker was a haughty old man of some sixty years, and the person whom he addressed was a fine-looking young man of twenty-five.

With a sad aspect the young man withdrew from the stately mansion.

II

Six months later the young man stood in the presence of the haughty old man.

"What! *you* here again?" angrily cried the old man.

"Ay, old man," proudly exclaimed William Barker. "I am here, your daughter's equal and yours."

The old man's lips curled with scorn. A derisive smile lit up his cold features; when, casting violently upon the marble centre table an enormous roll of grenbacks, William Barker cried—

"See! Look on this wealth. And I've tenfold more! Listen, old man! You spurned me from your door. But I did not despair. I secured a contract for furnishing the Army of Republic with beef—"

"Yes, yes!" eagerly exclaimed the old man.

"—and I bought up all the disabled cavalry horses I could find—"

"I see! I see!" cried the old man. "And good beef they make, too."

"They do! they do! and the profits are immense."

"I should say so!"

"And now, sir, I claim your daughter's fair hand!"

"Boy, she is yours. But hold! Look me in the eye. Throughout all this have you been

loyal?"

"To the core!" cried William Barker.

"And," continued the old man, in a voice husky with emotion, "are you in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war?"

"I am, I am!"

"Then, boy, take her! Maria, my child, come hither. Your William claims thee. Be happy, my children! and whatever our lot in life may be, *let us all support the Government!*"

(*Continued from page* 2)

POPULAR FRONT AND FRENCH FASCISM

triumph short of the complete abolition of capitalism.

Fascism is not an invention of the devil or of a fiendish madman. It is a social expression of the bankruptcy of the existing ruling class, and of its inability to provide any longer for the maintenance of existing standards of life for any but the most successful capitalists. The need of capitalism in each country to secure and protect its foreign markets, sources of raw materials and financial investments from rival camps of imperialist bandits compels it to establish a totalitarian regime, the only means by which it can subject its people and compel them to do its bidding without immediate fear of revolt.

Secondly, such political makeshifts as the Popular Front or the Roosevelt New Deal are broken reeds upon which the workers may lean in the struggle against Fascist reaction. Since such movements represent an alliance between classes whose economic interests are opposed, the only common bond which can hold them together is some abstract ideal, such as "democracy" or "liberty," abstractions which lose their cohesive power as soon as the opposing elements find that this "democracy" or "liberty" conflicts with their struggle to maintain their economic position.

Witness the conduct of the French Radical Socialist Party, representative of the petty bourgeoisie and peasantry, which forgot all about "democracy" and joined the top capitalists in capitulating to Hitler and in forming the new Fascist regime, as soon as it was confronted with the prospect of workers' revolution. In America, it is President Roosevelt himself, driven by the pressure of capitalism's need to defend its interests, who is taking the lead in driving the United States on the road to dictatorship! The working class must beware of self-styled allies. Only independent labor action can bring victory.

Finally, once again the basic Marxist tenet that the working class cannot use the existing capitalist state machinery and adapt it to their own purposes, is proven anew by the events of France. Workers can never look to capitalist governments, whether composed of out and out bourgeois politicians or of labor leader servants of capitalism for anything but betrayal.

CAPITALISM MUST GO

To fight Fascism, to save humanity and civilization from the blight which is attempting to destroy them, the working class, the only force in society which is capable of progressive action, must break once and for all with the capitalist world and must begin to organize for a new workers' world. They must proceed to convert their existing unions into fighting organs of working class emancipation. They must organize politically for the revolutionary conquest of power and the destruction of the capitalist state. Only the victory of Socialism will destroy Fascism.

These are the lessons of France and its Popular Front!

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